2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajon. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martin, it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
241 of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops.
462 In the most conservative communities, the
476 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully
[785] spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
[834] of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

462 Only the family shares in the rest of the
592 labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort, women perform those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs, Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 283—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	44
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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423 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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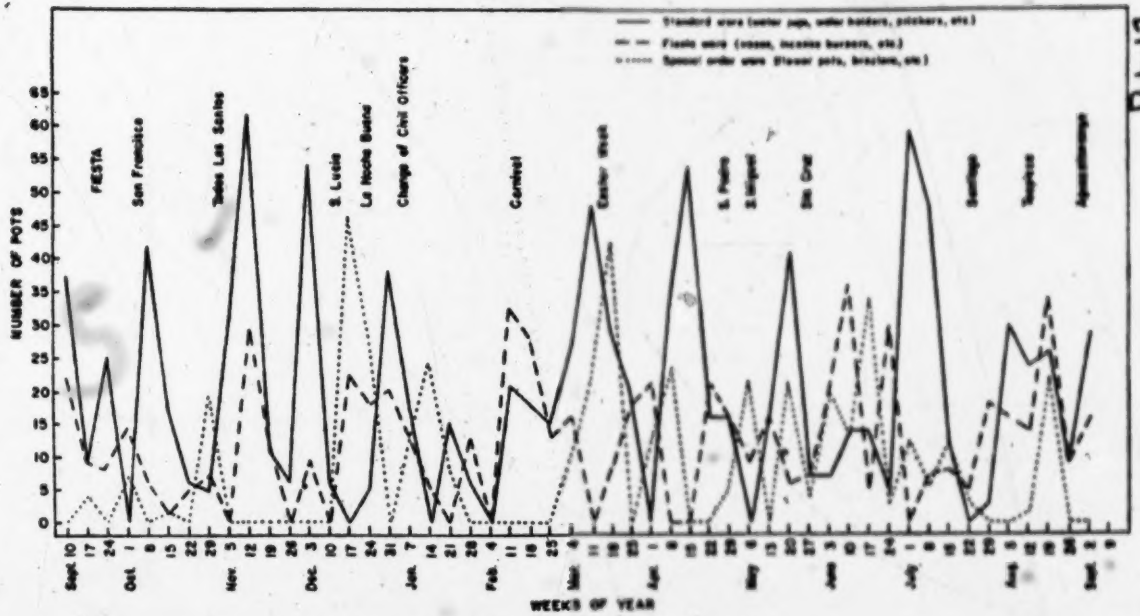
base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions

Fig. 2. Pottery Production in the Household and Its Correlation with the Ceremonial Cycle



Source: The above was printed in *Man* (219:186-91) in an article by Manning Nash entitled "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society."

[P.47]

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M. Nash F-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NYU Tzeltal NYU Anthropology del Valle

71 Nash E-8 (1957-1967) 1970

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Motion *	*Step* †	*Context*
yah swol (make a ball)	2.6, 3.1	In mixing sand with clay, finish by making oval ball; also preliminary to making base, form ball
Spus + (roll +)		
yah lihk spusko?el (begins to roll down)	6.7	Turn down lip of neck
yah spusb'e sčikin (doubles over ears)	7.5	Curve tube of clay over to form handle
Stuis + (cut +)		
-b'e sti?il (edge)	3.7	Push clay with thumb; even edge by removing higher levels of clay at upper edge of base
" " "	4.5	Same, but edge is top of half-formed pot
" " "	6.5	Same, but edge is top of opening of jug
B'al + (make a tube +)		
ya sb'al te (make a tube of clay)	4.1	Build up sides with coils of clay
ya ya?b'e b'al lum (give a roll of clay)	5.1	Continue building up sides with coils of clay
yah sb'alb'eko?el (roll down)	6.8	Roll the tube of clay fitting on neck of pot to form a lip.

* Additives preceded by a hyphen form a single word with the verb stem; others are separate words in a phrase with the verb.
† Numbers refer to step numbers in Table 10.

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The nine stages of production provide a basis for the organization of the work in five-day intervals. The usual output is in lots of one dozen water jugs or ten bowls. This staging of production indicates an incipient rationalization of production that maximizes efficiency for the individual producer: a woman repeats the same limited sequence of motions for the lot. Leaving the item overnight permits drying and hardening so that in building up the pot there is greater stability. The staging of production also provides a basis for the division of labor in households with more than one producer. Certain stages require greater skill and/or discrimination: mixing the clay with sand requires the greatest discrimination to achieve the consistency which allows both maximum manipulability and strength and durability; building up and shaping the walls of the pot requires the maximum skill and dexterity. These tasks are performed by the more ex-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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323 pyramid is complete, wood is laid against the pots in a tepee formation.
[313] When the sawmill in the vicinity was in operation, flat boards—scraps of
[372] cut lengths—were used, but now only logs are available. Corn husks or
[462] dry straw are stuffed between the planks or logs. When a large number of pots are being fired, the men usually help at the final stages to remove the
[476] charred planks with poles. If men are not available, the women of the
[292] household often call upon their neighbors for help. In this operation, the women wear sandals and hats for protection from the heat. When the pots are cooled, the women, sometimes with the help of the men, stack them in net bags, six to a net with straw protecting the pots.

647 About fifteen year ago, a kiln was introduced by the government in the
177 interest of conserving wood. Those who tried it claim that the pottery did
323 not fire well and that many of the pots were broken. I.N.I. (the Instituto
372 Nacional Indigenista) planned to introduce an improved kiln, and while most of the people we questioned expressed a willingness to try it, the proposal was never put into action.

462 The men do most of the marketing of pottery. Loads of one or two
442 dozen may be taken by bus or truck to San Cristóbal or to Comitán.
443 When there is large-scale production throughout the community, as occurs
494 just before major fiestas, truckers come from the neighboring town of Teopisca to contract for delivery.

592 The amount of pottery produced in households varies with the follow-
323 ing factors:
433

1. Household composition: (a) Number of women in the family.
[464] If there is only one woman, very little or no pottery is produced because of the demands of domestic duties. Households with two or more women are able to sustain the ideal output of at least a dozen water jugs a week (I use "ideal" here to suggest their notion of what they produce when asked to guess. As Fig. 2 indicates, this varies considerably during the
[887] year.) (b) Age of women and ages of children. Older women over sixty do not independently undertake pottery production. They may assist in washing pots with corn gruel or making the neck, mouth, and handles, but they are unable to endure the harder task of collecting clay. A woman with infants under two years of age makes little pottery if

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

The Motivation to Produce

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonču,* which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

but his style of living is indistinguishable from theirs. The only difference is the larger number of dogs he keeps to guard his wealth stored in the form of surplus crops in the eaves of his house.

The kind of economic change occurring in Tzo'ontahal fits the model of a moving equilibrium. Tightly controlled behavioral schema preserve the traditional productive activities in pottery and agriculture. They provide the framework into which the new enterprises are fit. Increasing dependence of cosumption choices on external markets is slowly transforming the content but not the pattern of community life. This kind of change is limited to societies that form a distinct corporate group. In an open society where many alternatives are available, the painful process of accommodation of the new to a customary pattern would probably not be undertaken given the tendency for social change to follow the course of least resistence. The absorption of economic innovation in Tzo'ontahal illustrates the ability of closed corporate communities to participate in commercial undertakings and reformulate them to fit their own pattern.

[i.e., the richest man in town. - Analyst]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equiva- 423 lent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a
433 tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc.
621 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital
556 to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists,
621 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they
183 would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

241 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household
592 self-sufficient the whole year around.
462

241 The younger males of a household are initiated into the
868 agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the tech-
[582] niques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

241 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption
433 of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus
434 which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover,
[464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Pujiltic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male
462 children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering
[231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also
[241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

462 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling. Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly line" style, with the women distributing their individual work according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity. Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production represents about half of the income of each independent household, with some slight variation, because households richer in land produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

• 433
184 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors. Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many different types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety, is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 433 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable year of plenty or a lean year.

184 323 241 433 434 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery. This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase

184 166 464 731 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas. The result of having an alternative form of income within the

184 434 621 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a reputation of being richer than the other communities.

184 434 462 562 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work. They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know. . . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important producers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of supporting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango, the labor input of women represents about half of the total productive efforts of the villagers.

TABLE 15

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AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

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The fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

takes up residence in her husband's house" (Nash, J., 1960:28) at an age in which she is not fully trained in pottery production. At the same time, "mothers prefer to keep their daughters at home at least until the age of fourteen if there is no economic necessity in the family" (Nash, J., 1960:28).

Pottery production as a source of income is not equally important for all households. (1) Households with more children produce less pottery, because "child care compete with pottery making for a woman's time." (2) Households with more women produce more pottery because the different tasks of the woman: pottery making, child care, and house maintenance, can be best distributed among them during the day. (3) The motivation to work at pottery production is stronger in poorer households, "because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family subsistence must come from pottery making." (4) Households with more men and land produce less pottery. First, land needs men to work it, and a single man cannot work much, or lay claim to government Ejido land of any considerable size. "In richer households (in terms of land and cattle) there is sufficient milpa raised that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This has also a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery." "Conversely, poorer households depend upon pottery income, have fewer children, and less experience with prolonged periods of little or no pottery production" (Nash, M., 1961:188).

If the woman's work in pottery is a crucial factor in

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 592 562 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activities are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 602 592 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. [114] Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

323 241 433 182 59 592 621 In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.

J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the individual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments, both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are), both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity, although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects. Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively without reference to territorial propinquity.

The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to emphasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements, or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of